Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone. That segmentation has taken this particular form is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk nation and of their king, and it is with his place in the national polity that this lecture is particularly concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang, the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who led them into their present homeland, conquering it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be in every king and to have passed from king to king down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus a mythological personification of the timeless kingship which itself symbolizes the national structure, a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king can be invested with the kingship. As many sons of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent.
[621] Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its
[622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-
[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to
[611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by *settlement* chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristocratic status has been accompanied by the formation of numerous groups of persons of the category of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, *persons who have become possessed by* the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have 565 644 613

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

565 attached themselves to the court—and have been 644 given the fictional collectivity of exogamous line- [613] ages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince 565 during his lifetime, and after his death their de- 644 scendants continued to live near the prince's 613 descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, 621 where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general [101] category of commoners, only of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

The development of the Shilluk kingship has thus produced, though not in a very pronounced or rigid form, a social hierarchy of royal house, nobility (other members of the royal clan), and commoners (including persons of client origin).

THE KINGSHIP

If we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context. In 1903 Father Tappi wrote that the authority of the king is 'absolute'.[1] Professor and Mrs Seligman have described the king as 'absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy',[2] and Professor Westermann has also written of the power of the king as 'absolute'.[3] Father Hofmayr says that 'Mit dem Regierungsantritt ist der König Herr des Landes, das er nach Belieben vergeben

[1] P. C. Tappi, 'Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chillouks', *Bull. Soc. Khediv. de Géog.* (1903), p. 122.
[2] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932), p. 39.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xlvii.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireh*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous. Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *dwareh*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

The children of the king are called *nyireek*; his grandchildren are *nyinyireek*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireek*; their children again may be called *kwanyireek*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireek* follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireek* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareek*. The title *kwanyireek dwong* (great *kwanyireek*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireek* or to a *kwanyireek* who has become a chief.

Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *orore*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Moore as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Rue, of the Chief (King) of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Nebanyer states that royal descendants become *orore* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be allowed out by wealth. His account is far from clear, but officially he agrees that the only *orore* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260-1). Mr. Hosmy confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *orore*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Dowad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and drove them in the river, but Dowad succeeded in removing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Dowad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Dowad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigid instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *acolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *uza* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well-informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing.

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it.

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:—

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

> "The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . . his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 EJ23 Shilluk FJ23

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The *same result is obtained by washing the hair* continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, BLACKSMITHS hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bëdo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk OTHER CRAFTS houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

Plaiting is pratised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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673

and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

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[692]

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

● 565 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendancy from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwa ej* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chiliç* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

[101]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

So the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word Ollág, which, as is shown on page XLI, is connected with Nyikáng, and means a descendant of Nyikáng, also designates only or mainly members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used; but it is well known at Fashoda, the seat of the royal court.

RELATIONS WITH THE NUBIANS

There live among the Shilluks a number of "Nubians", called by them *Dyá*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Nubians (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Nubians came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Faina, a sub-district of Nyagr; they are known here as good cultivators of dura. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 domiciles; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Nubians play a certain rôle in the election of the king, vide page 122 ff. They bear the title *Nadwai*.

RELATIONS WITH THE DINKAS

The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peaceably now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them.

RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

There are a few Selim Baggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase dura from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the walls at Atara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fashoda (the chief village of the district).

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

ORIGINAL SEATS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 30 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblance to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the reign of an African ruler. The number of years thus reached at is between 13 and 14 for each king. Now from the reign of Nyikang, who was the first Shilluk king, till to-day the Shilluks have had 28 to 30 kings; 29 multiplied with 13½ leads back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About this time, then, the Shilluk kingdom was founded, or, in other words, during this period a probably fair-skinned tribe or clan became in some manner united with the Shilluks, and made itself the ruling factor among the latter. The first of these leaders and rulers was Nyikang, or possibly Nyikang is only a personification — the heroe eponymos — of the foreign element in the Shilluk population. From those early days up to the present never a "Shilluk", i. e. a member of the original population, has been king, solely the "descendants of Nyikang" forming the royal family, from which the king is elected. Even to-day the descendants of Nyikang do not intermarry with the "Shilluks", they live in districts and villages of their own and enjoy certain privileges, thus forming the aristocracy of the nation. Second in rank are those Shilluks which migrated into the country together with Nyikang as his "followers" or "servants." They also possess several social privileges and state functions. The lowest class of Shilluks are the natives found in the country, when Nyikang and his adherents arrived. They may be designated as the "common people", the "subjects" in the state community. The second and third categories, and also the first, have no doubt been mixed by intermarriage. From the earlier centuries of the Shilluk dynasty but scanty historical data are known. The only reports we have are the list of kings (*vide* page 135), and a considerable store of traditions, dealing with prominent acts of single kings and important events which occurred during their reign. Some of those native records are printed on pages 141 ff.

RELATIONS WITH THE FUNJ

The first time the Shilluks enter history is about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is at the same time when they took possession of their present seats. Beginning at this period they have, during almost two centuries, played an essential part in the history of the *Funj* people. The question of the origin of the Funj is as yet unsettled. In order to introduce the reader into the problem, I shall give a short survey of this remarkable people and their history.

The most common form of the name is Funj or Fonj, and Fung. Funj is in phonetic writing probably *Fuɲ*, ending in a palatal ɲ, and Fung = *Fuŋ*, ending in a velar ŋ. Of these two forms I suppose Funj = *Fuɲ* to be the older one. Foreigners who are not used to a palatal ɲ standing at the end of a word, find its pronunciation difficult, and frequently substitute *n* for ɲ, a mispronunciation which I myself have often heard in the Sudan. This Funj, Funj is probably identical with the Shilluk word *fuoɲ* "stranger"; in Shilluk as well as in Nubian b and f are interchanged; in Nuer the word for "stranger" sounds *fon*, and in

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shilluk[1] is a trade which comparatively few men learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house.

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house.

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut and cocked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope-maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick.

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Dwong Adok *(dwoi adak)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she named and named Kola *(Kyle)*; Kola begat Unak Ra or Omaro *(Omoro)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Mael *(wat mjil)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Dijil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Dijil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kieya *(Nyakur)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bworo. The eldest son of Nik-Kieya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, or *Nyikk*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Dowat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Dowat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Dui, Ari Unkor, and Bun Yong, his brother Unoi and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shilluk race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas. Nik-Kiuya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kiuya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Dowad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Ocuara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwot. Nyikang and Dowad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Dowad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Bosh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak." Another man, called Obogi, kept always there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the fellow came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came in his house and opened the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

Ukumo Dalalajak Athodwai Detwak Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Datim Panyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwom, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golban, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southernmost regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Ukumo and Tunga.(1) Fashoda, the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others, is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their descent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the *kwareth* are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*.
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*.

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyareth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement.

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house.

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*.

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang.

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, "my grand-daughter".

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang*

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

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The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *bweroth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *bweroth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dwony pur* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

		C.I.	I.I.	L. (mm)
M	"F" Cave Dyce.(6)	72.2	86.7	178.6
	Loch " (12)	71.1	86.4	178.8

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This is further not closely illustrated from the measurements taken only on the Cubs (any reason initial other than the members of the royal family and the Dyce numbers).

"F"	Cave Dyce.(6)	72.2	85.2	178.2
	Loch " (12)	71.1	85.8	178.5

Here the differences are shown more clearly than those in table "F" in which royal members were included. This means, that the royal members have not, as it may, a compensating effect on the indices and further it means that the royal members have different anthropometric qualities. This is shown in table "G".

	C.I.	I.I.	L.(mm)
Royals (11)	71.8	85.9	178.3
Cubs (13)	70.5	87.4	178.5

Also there is a tendency among the royal family members to differentiate physically, in north and south. This may be more clearly in table "H".

Cave (6)	71.1	85.9	178.7
Loch (5)	70.0	85.9	178.8

The same indices for the 6 women were

"F"			
Cubs(5)	72.1	86.1	162.6
Royal (1)	71.88	85.1	163.7

Both in size and the differences between measurements are medium, though the number of couples is not sufficient to stand by itself. We depend here on the results of the 24 and measured to mark that differences of physical character exists also among British women.

In turn we come notice on the foregoing tables, to sum up, for the time being, a hundred conclusions leading to illustration of our anthropometric studies on the British and Scottish tribes and contributions in the future.

M 1. The differences in the Royal index in table "F" may be attributed to difference in the points of measurement between Professor Bolgano and me, whose Bolgano has taken his couples from a certain area in the Shetland-Loch. If this happens to be the case, it is most probable that the majority of the couples were taken from members intelligent to general, and the districts of Tongs and Braytoung specifically, between my couples in this area show the highest cranial indices recorded, as shown in table "I" below.

M 2. The remarkable difference between north and south, shown in tables "F" and "G", are a matter of the first degree of importance. This is the first time, as far as I know, that this difference has been brought to light, and the explanation is not a self-contained medical matter, but is connected by British sociology in which North and South stand opposed to each other as the political units and in certain times as the religious units.

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year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *dawerk*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *orwe*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *dawerk* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *long reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

There are no real caste distinctions between *dawerk*, *orwe*, *colo*, and *long reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *dawerk*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *long reth* who have close associations with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theocratically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1918 and it may be asserted that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate to any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 100,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:0·5 and the lowest 1:0·2.

[2] *Jwok*. Literally "descendants of", preceding the name of the clan, thus Okelo—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1954 F321 Shilluk F321

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ot dhom*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wic dhom*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*o nam*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried, a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, where homicide is a joint action, the next most senior injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–10. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born to such circumstances are known in this or like (primarily to us) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kuar mut* takes the one thrust in return for his services only in the negotiations for peace, the *reath nyaai* 'half calf of blood') and *yang thou* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two cows which he receives at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these rights

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

●565 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Orore*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Orore*, are usually treated with a certain outward deference by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[20]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Orore*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reths.

566 The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country.
•614 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristoc-
644 racy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes
providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk
[625] clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

559 Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are
566 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*),
614 *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyireth*
644 (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (elided into
Kwanyireth) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

20. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[12] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[13] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[14] into the charge of some reputable *Collo chief*[15] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

12. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *kweth*.

13. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

14. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

15. The chief entrusted will often be the *kweth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

Ororo is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyiwok* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1840.
18. *e.g.*, Amarajuok.
19. *Tiek ni Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Orore*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.[99] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Orore*.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[100] which is often used to describe the *Orore*.

The *Orore* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of

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99. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Orore* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages of one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Orore* will even say which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either ruminant or vague about his ancestry.

100. *Bang kulli yi gwo.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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the rules of exogamy the *Ovore* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ovore* women among his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[28] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[29] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[30] are avowedly accretions, others[31] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

HANG RETH.

It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers known as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

28. *e.g.*, *Kwar Abago*, *Kwar Wadi*, *Kwar Nyikang* and *Kwar Ojal*.
29. *e.g.*, *Kwar Jur*, *Kwar Obino* and *Kwar Ojal*.
30. *e.g.*, *Kwar Jang* (who were originally Dinka).
31. *e.g.*, *Kwar Gwam* (of Ogod).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*.

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be.

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them.

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan.

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 644 [614] who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

[554] The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

Political Divisions and Organisation.

635 [522] The Provinces of Luak and Ger and the Old Order. The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[46]. The bound-

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46. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Reeves for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokreth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Bum and had resigned to make way for Dhokreth. Tugo had been living at Alhakang and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdhok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golfiak, and the *chief* of these he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *bilo kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kwarjwok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jwog* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyiwat*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "one."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi kal ʃuok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Rəth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Rəth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Rəth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci nam*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only *if* and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Dehale*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Orore* from the *Kwar Rath*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhak*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Amelak*[1] who holds the *Law Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Dehale* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. The *Law Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Rath*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three generations. *Dehale* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate lines of segmentation. From *Dehale* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Dehale*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Abel*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* consists one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Dehale*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwaro* the son is

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1. *Jago Amelak* is now dead.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Lusk. (*Note* 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is the village or *tur*.[2]

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

a. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement"; *S.N.R.* XXIV, 1941.

b. The word reth has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk name throughout.

For Notes see pp. 13–16.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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they perform in connection with the *reth*. They are a distinct clan

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*dwe*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of the past *reths*, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the *reth* by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo Moreover the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the *reth*'s daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous *reths* are treated with special respect.

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the most permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan.

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Orore, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Orore and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "clans" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests.

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is More some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fajoja about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[28] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of

28. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of reths, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1917
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., Kwar Reth) and "Shilluk" (Shil., Collo). Kwar Reth includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Gwen," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang tribes, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country.

Within the Kwar Reth there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyimith*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyamith* or *Nyinyimith*, for the son of a *Nyimith*. All other members of the Kwar Reth are entitled *Kwar Nyimith*, which is divided into *Kwa'nyimith*. All Kwar Reth should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wee*.

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Fung (Fung clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the Collo. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the Kwar Reth.

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the Kwar Reth but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyimith* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all works of mortals), but when addressing the Reth certain others have to be borne carefully in mind.

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to grass (Shil., *kwai*). They never eat cooked. When not more specifically

Cp. 3:9]

27: Munro U-S (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

his followers immediately put to flight the Bet's Army with whips, and the Bet is captured by Nyakang. The Bet is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fellí could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers fluctuated on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Bet, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fwiondo. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been unstripped of clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Bet, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Bet is lifted up and carried at full length by the Gwere[1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped off the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as memorials. Nyakang and the Bet are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white drapery with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Bet is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Bet, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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[1] Gwere. This clan seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., N 10, 21, and 23. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaré». According to Fellí, they were the sons of Odák son of Nyakang: a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Dowat should have become Bet, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Dowat came to his own, and he then took from them others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Dowat's time no one has become an Gwere although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Bet; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Bet they make the shroud. The Bet on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Gwere.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [95] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

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173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

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644 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
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292] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

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in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

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565 563 term applies only to the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 644 [567] The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the king. This group is made up of the king's personal attendants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who [567] [681] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 582 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In 644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside 565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one 582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth class may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same class, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

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enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement.

A chief or a nyireth may have three or four huts in his enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight.

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much

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The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent ceremonies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead